

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

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FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2662

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 TOKYO 14784

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, JA

SUBJECT: 22ND US-JAPAN PLANNING TALKS

FOLLOWING IS JAPANESE CONTRIBUTION TO PLANNING  
TALKS ON RELATIONS AMONG ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES.  
PAPER REPRESENTS PERSONAL VIEW OF MEMBER OF  
RESEARCH AND PLANNING DIVISION, AND HAS NOT BEEN  
OFFICIALLY CLEARED WITHIN FOREIGN MINISTRY.  
JAPANESE CLASSIFICATION IS SECRET.

QUOTE

I. PROSPECTS

1. INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES OF JAPAN, NORTH AMERICA,  
WESTERN EUROPE AND OCEANIA SHARE BASIC INTERESTS AND  
CONSTITUTE A COMMUNITY.

COLLABORATION AMONG THE COUNTRIES OF THIS  
COMMUNITY WILL ON THE WHOLE CONTINUE TO BE  
STRENGTHENED.

(1) COLLECTIVE SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS SUCH AS  
THE NATO, THE JAPAN-U.S. SECURITY TREATY AND THE  
ANZUS WILL BE FIRMLY MAINTAINED, AND EFFORTS FOR  
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DEFENSE COOPERATION WILL BE CONTINUED.

(2) ON SUCH FIELDS AS THE MANAGEMENT OF NATIONAL ECONOMIES, MONETARY AND TRADE ISSUES, NATURAL RESOURCES, THE ENERGY PROBLEM, THE SEA, AND SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, COOPERATIVE RELATIONS WILL BE STRENGTHENED, NOTWITHSTANDING VARIOUS AND OCCASIONAL FRICTIONS.

(3) IN MANAGING THE RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER EASTERN COUNTRIES AND WITH THE COUNTRIES OF THE SOUTH, EFFORTS FOR CLOSER COLLABORATION WILL BE PURSUED.

(4) CONTACTS BETWEEN HEADS OF GOVERNMENTS AND AT THE LEVEL OF CABINET MINISTERS AND OTHER HIGH RANKING OFFICIALS WILL INCREASE FURTHER, IN SUCH FORUMS AS THE U.N., THE SUMMIT MEETINGS OF MAJOR COUNTRIES, THE OECD, THE WORLD BANK AND THE IMF.

2. RELATIONS BETWEEN ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACIES WILL AT TIMES BE STRAINED BY PROBLEMS OR FRICTIONS DUE TO SUCH FACTORS AS THE FOLLOWING:

(1) DIVISION BETWEEN DOMESTIC AND EXTERNAL INTERESTS: IN SOME COUNTRIES, HIGHER PRIORITIES WILL BE GIVEN TO DOMESTIC ISSUES, OR THE EXECUTIVE BRANCHES WILL SUFFER CONSTRAINTS DUE TO DOMESTIC POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS;

(2) DIFFERENCES BETWEEN COUNTRIES IN SUCH AREAS AS THE COMPETITIVENESS OF THEIR EXPORTS: ESPECIALLY IN JAPAN'S RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. OR EUROPE, JAPAN MAY BE SUBJECTED TO STRONG PRESSURES ON THE QUESTION OF JAPANESE EXPORTS, DUE TO THE LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OF JAPAN AND THE INCREASING PROTECTIONIST MOOD IN THOSE COUNTRIES. THIS WILL BE PARTICULARLY TRUE BETWEEN JAPAN AND EUROPE;

(3) REGIONALISTIC INCLINATION OF THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES CENTERING ON THE EC;

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(4) DIFFERENCES IN THE ECONOMIC VULNERABILITY, DUE, FOR INSTANCE, TO THE VARYING DEGREES OF EXTERNAL DEPENDENCE FOR NATURAL RESOURCES;

(5) NATIONALISTIC SENTIMENTS OR INCREASED SELF-ASSERTION IN EACH COUNTRY; AND

(6) COMPETITION AMONG THEMSELVES IN THE  
SOUTHERN WORLD AND DIFFERENCES IN THE APPROACHES TO  
THE NORTH-SOUTH PROBLEM.

88. POLICY ISSUES

1. INTENSIFICATION OF COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP  
IN TODAY'S INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY WHICH IS  
BECOMING MORE DIVERSIFIED AND INTERDEPENDENT, AN  
ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL COUNTRY CAN REALIZE ITS SECURITY  
AND PROSPERITY MOST EFFECTIVELY THROUGH THE SOLI-  
DARITY OF THE COMMUNITY OF ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL  
DEMOCRACIES. IT IS IMPERATIVE, THEREFORE, THAT  
COUNTRIES MAINTAIN AND STRENGTHEN THE COOPERATIVE  
RELATIONS AMONG THEMSELVES AND MAKE THIS COMMUNITY  
EVER MORE SOLID.

IN THIS CONTEXT, THE FOLLOWING POINTS ARE  
IMPORTANT:

(1) THAT JAPAN AND THE U.S. FURTHER INTENSIFY  
MUTUAL RELATIONS AND THE SYSTEM OF CONSULTATION AND  
COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE TWO ON ISSUES WHICH HAVE  
BEARING ON THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE;

(2) THAT THE COUNTRIES OF THE PACIFIC REGION,  
NAMELY JAPAN, THE U.S. CANADA, AUSTRALIA AND NEW  
ZEALAND, STRENGTHEN THEIR MUTUAL POLITICAL TIES,  
AND COLLABORATE FOR THE PROMOTION OF STABILITY AND  
PROGRESS IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION; AND

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(3) THAT JAPAN AND THE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES  
PROMOTE MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND INTENSIFY COOPER-  
ATION IN ORDER TO BRING THE LEVEL OF JAPAN-EUROPE  
RELATIONS CLOSER TO THAT OF JAPAN-U.S. OR U.S.  
EUROPE RELATIONS.

## 2. INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS

(1) UNDER DEEPENING INTERDEPENDENCE AND  
STRUCTURAL CHANGES WROUGHT TO THE INTERNATIONAL  
ECONOMY BY THE STEEP INCREASES IN OIL PRICES,  
COLLABORATION AMONG ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES  
IS INDISPENSABLE FOR INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES TO  
RESOLVE FRICTIONS AND TO ACHIEVE STABLE GROWTH  
WITHOUT INFLATION.

IN THIS, THE FOLLOWING NEEDS TO BE OBSERVED:

(A) EACH COUNTRY, IN MANAGING ITS DOMESTIC  
ECONOMY, SHOULD TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE IMPACT ITS  
POLICIES MAY HAVE ON OTHER ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL  
COUNTRIES AND SHOULD COOPERATE WITH OTHERS;

(B) FREE FLOW OF GOODS, CAPITAL, TECHNOLOGY,  
ETC. BETWEEN THE ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES  
SHOULD BE MAINTAINED AND STRENGTHENED.

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NAMELY: (I) GREATER STABILITY, UNDER THE  
FLOATING EXCHANGE RATE SYSTEM, SHOULD BE  
SOUGHT IN THE MONETARY FIELD;

(II) THE FREE TRADE SYSTEM SHOULD  
BE MAINTAINED AND FURTHER DEVELOPED  
THROUGH MULTILATERAL TRADE NEGOTIATIONS  
AND OTHER EFFORTS;

(III) EXCHANGES OF CAPITAL SHOULD BE  
PROMOTED. AT THE SAME TIME, COOPERATION  
SHOULD BE SOUGHT TO REMOVE HARMFUL EFFECTS  
OF THE OPERATIONS OF MULTINATIONAL ENTER-  
PRISES; AND

(IV) EFFORTS SHOULD BE MADE TO PREVENT  
THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY FROM TURNING INWARD.

(C) IN THE FIELD OF ENERGY, COOPERATION AMONG CONSUMING COUNTRIES CENTERING ON THE IEA SHOULD BE FURTHER PROMOTED. EFFORTS SHOULD BE CONTINUED FOR STABILIZATION OF FUTURE SUPPLIES AND PRICES AS WELL AS FOR PROMOTION OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION THROUGH DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE OIL-PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS IN SUCH FORUMS AS THE CIEC; AND

(D) TO CONTRIBUTE EFFECTIVELY TO THE ECONOMIC STABILIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, COOPERATION SHOULD BE PROMOTED FURTHER AMONG ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES IN SUCH FIELDS AS AID.

(2) DIFFERENCES IN ECONOMIC PERFORMANCES EXIST AMONG JAPAN, THE U.S., FRG, THE U.K., ITALY AND OTHERS. THE IMBALANCE CREATED BY SUCH DIFFERENCES COULD HAMPER RELATIONS BETWEEN THEM.

IT IS NECESSARY TO SMOOTH OUT PROBLEMS ARISING OUT OF SUCH IMBALANCES FROM THE VIEW POINT OF PROMOTING THE INTERESTS OF THE ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL  
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DEMOCRACIES AS A WHOLE.

THE FOLLOWING ARE COROLLARIES TO THE ABOVE STATED OVERRIDING REQUIREMENT:

(A) THE VITALITY OF THE ECONOMIES OF JAPAN, THE U.S. AND FRG HAS THE EFFECT OF EXPANDING THE MARKET AND THE PRODUCTION CAPACITY AND OF PROMOTING TECHNOLOGICAL INNOVATION OF THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES AS A WHOLE. ARRANGEMENTS SHOULD BE MADE SO THAT OTHER COUNTRIES CAN BENEFIT FROM IT. (TO REACT AGAINST VIGOROUS ACTIVITIES OF THESE ECONOMIES TO PROTECTIONIST ACTION WILL BE CONTRARY TO THE LONG-TERM INTEREST OF THE COMMUNITY OF ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES.)

(B) IF CERTAIN COUNTRIES WHOSE ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE IS PROBLEMATIC MEET WITH A SERIOUS DIFFICULTY, OTHER COUNTRIES MAY NEED TO COOPERATE AS IN THE PAST, IN ORDER TO AVOID CHAIN REACTION AND MAINTAIN THE SOLIDARITY OF THE ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES.

(3) IN ORDER TO SECURE, FROM A LONG-TERM STANDPOINT, A SMOOTH DEVELOPMENT OF THE ECONOMIES

OF THE ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES AND OF THE  
WORLD ECONOMY AS A WHOLE, COOPERATION SHOULD BE  
PROMOTED IN AREAS WHERE GREAT POTENTIALS LIE.

TO CITE SOME AREAS:

(A) SECURING STABLE SUPPLIES OF NATURAL  
RESOURCES AND ENERGY;

AS THE INVESTMENTS FOR DEVELOPING NEW  
SOURCES OF NATURAL RESOURCES AND ENERGY ARE  
BECOMING INCREASINGLY COSTLY AND RISKY,  
COUNTRIES SHOULD PROMOTE COOPERATION. THIS  
CAN TAKE VARIOUS FORMS AND MAY INVOLVE PRIVATE  
CAPITAL. CREATING NEW INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS  
FOR SUCH PURPOSES (FOR INSTANCE THE IRB) COULD  
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ALSO BE CONSIDERED.

(B) R & D:

R & D IN THE FIELDS OF NUCLEAR ENERGY,  
AND OTHER NEW OR ALTERNATIVE SOURCES OF ENERGY,  
SPACE, DATA PROCESSING, TRANSPORTATION AND  
COMMUNICATION, RESOURCES-SAVING, ENVIRONMENTAL  
PROTECTION, ETC. WILL REQUIRE IN MANY CASES  
VERY LARGE AMOUNT OF FUNDS. FOR THIS AND OTHER  
REASONS, JOINT PROJECTS NEED TO BE ENCOURAGED.

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### 3. RELATIONS WITH THE COUNTRIES OF THE SOUTH

ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES SHOULD INTENSIFY COOPERATION AMONG THEMSELVES FOR CONTRIBUTING TO THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STABILITY OF THE SOUTHERN COUNTRIES AND SECURING STABLE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH. BASIC ELEMENTS IN THIS COOPERATIVE EFFORTS ARE AS FOLLOWS:

(1) TO PURSUE, AS THE LONG-TERM, BASIC STRATEGY TOWARD THE SOUTH, THE OBJECTIVE OF COOPERATING AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE IN THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE SOUTH. IN THIS, EMPHASIS SHOULD BE GIVEN TO PROMOTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF MIDDLE-CLASS STATES AND INTEGRATING THEM INTO THE COMMUNITY OF ADVANCED COUNTRIES, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME CONTRIBUTING TO THE STABILIZATION OF THE POORER COUNTRIES;

(2) TO MAINTAIN AND STRENGTHEN THE SOLIDARITY OF THE ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL STATES, AS ALREADY EVIDENCED IN THE EMERGENCY SCHEMES AND LONG-TERM COOPERATION IN THE IEA AND THE OECD FINANCIAL SUPPORT FUND, FOR WITHSTANDING POSSIBLE PRESSURES FROM THE SOUTH, ESPECIALLY THE OIL PRODUCING COUNTRIES; AND

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(3) TO ENCOURAGE DEVELOPMENT OF REGIONAL STABILIZING FORCES (SUCH AS INDONESIA IN THE ASEAN REGION AND BRAZIL IN SOUTH AMERICA) AND TO FOSTER ESTABLISHMENT OF PATTERN OF POWER RELATIONS CONDUCIVE TO REGIONAL STABILIZATION (SUCH AS A STABLE RELATIONS BETWEEN ASEAN AND INDOCHINESE COUNTRIES);

(4) (A) TO PROMOTE COOPERATION AMONG THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES IN THE FIELD OF PEACEFUL USE OF NUCLEAR ENERGY WITH A VIEW TO PREVENTING NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION; AND

(B) TO CONSIDER WAYS TO CONTROL ARMS TRANSACTIONS IN SOME FORM OR ANOTHER BECAUSE UNCONTROLLED SUPPLY OF ARMS HAS THE DANGER OF

DESTABILIZING THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RECIPIENT COUNTRY AND ITS NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES.

(5) TO AVOID WORKING AT CROSS-PURPOSES WITH EACH OTHER IN CARRYING OUT POLICIES TOWARD INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES OR AREAS IN THE SOUTH. (FOR INSTANCE, IN FORMULATING POLICIES TOWARD THE ROK OR NORTH KOREA, JAPAN'S POSITIONS SHOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT.)

#### 4. EAST-WEST RELATIONS

(1) SECURING STABILITY IN THE EAST-WEST RELATIONS IS AN ESSENTIAL PREREQUISITE FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE.

ALTHOUGH THE NATURE OF RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EASTERN COUNTRIES DIFFER BETWEEN COUNTRIES ACCORDING TO GEOGRAPHICAL, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND OTHER REASONS, IT IS INDISPENSABLE THAT ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES CONTINUE TO COLLABORATE AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE.

(2) IN PARTICULAR, MAINTENANCE OF BALANCE OF POWER IS A BASIC ELEMENT IN STABILIZING EAST-WEST RELATIONS. THUS, IN EUROPE AND IN THE WESTERN  
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PACIFIC COOPERATION IN THE FIELD OF DEFENSE SHOULD BE STRENGTHENED BETWEEN, RESPECTIVELY, THE U.S. AND EUROPE, AND JAPAN AND THE U.S. BETWEEN JAPAN AND EUROPE, THE TWO SIDES SHOULD ACTIVELY ENGAGE IN EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION. THE POSSIBILITY OF THE TWO SIDES WORKING ON JOINT PROJECTS COULD BE CONSIDERED.

WITH THE SOVIET NAVY EMERGING AS A GLOBAL FORCE, THE IMPORTANCE OF SHARING THE WILL TO PROTECT THE TRADE ROUTES OF THE ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES BECOMES GREATER.

(3) ON THE EXPORTS OF STRATEGIC GOODS TO THE EAST, WHILE IT MAY BE NECESSARY TO MODIFY THE COCOM RESTRICTIONS, HEED MUST BE TAKEN THAT SUCH A REVISION WOULD NOT AFFECT THE SECURITY OF MEMBER COUNTRIES. FOR INSTANCE, AS REGARDS TO THE MILITARY EXPORTS TO CHINA, THE IMPROVEMENTS IN CHINESE MILITARY CAPABILITIES WILL INEVITABLY AFFECT DIFFERENTLY THE SECURITY SITUATIONS OF THE U.S. AND EUROPE ON THE ONE HAND, AND JAPAN, WHICH LIES GEO-



GRAPHICALLY CLOSE TO CHINA. WHEN THE U.S. OR AN EUROPEAN COUNTRY CONSIDERS SUCH EXPORTS, CLOSE CONSULTATIONS WITH JAPAN IS HIGHLY DESIRABLE.

(4) ECONOMIC EXCHANGES BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST HAVE INCREASED RAPIDLY IN RECENT YEARS, AND HAVE CREATED VARIOUS PROBLEMS AS ACCUMULATION OF DEBTS BY THE EASTERN COUNTRIES.

IN ORDER TO BRING ABOUT STABLE EXPANSION OF THE EAST-WEST ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITHOUT AFFECTING THE INTEREST OF THE WEST AS A WHOLE, COOPERATION, SUCH AS THE CLOSE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION IN SUCH FIELDS AS EXPORT CREDITS, TECHNICAL COOPERATION, ETC., IS INCREASINGLY CALLED FOR.

(5) THE POSSIBILITIES OF COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION IN THE GOVERNMENT IN ITALY, FRANCE AND OTHER COUNTRIES WILL CONTINUE TO BE ONE OF THE PROBLEMS WHICH THREATEN THE STABILITY OF THE WEST. IN ORDER  
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TO PREVENT SUCH AN OCCURRENCE, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE WEST SHOULD COOPERATE WHERE NECESSARY BOTH POLITICALLY AND ECONOMICALLY WITH THOSE COUNTRIES WITH SUCH POSSIBILITY. HOWEVER, CAUTION IS REQUIRED IN DEALING WITH SUCH PROBLEM, AS IT WOULD BE NECESSARY TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN THESE COUNTRIES.  
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